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View of Hvar, Konrad von Grünenberg - Beschreibung der Reise von Konstanz nach Jerusalem, f. 12v (ca. 1487)

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TOWNS AND CITIES OF THE CROATIAN MIDDLE AGES

Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction?

Edited by

Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić

Hrvatski institut za povijest / Croatian Institute of History
Zagreb, 2017

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Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction?¹

Irena Benyovsky Latin

Sources for researching the medieval city (its appearance, social structures, urban institutions, and political system) can be very different in nature, including written sources of various provenances, visual or material sources, contemporary or later than the researched period. Medieval and early modern narrative sources are often unreliable, especially when referring to the early medieval period. They often treat information from very different provenances and varying in veracity as equivalent: various "rumours", older sources (some of them legendary) and contemporary sources. For this reason, their authenticity and credibility has often been questioned, and they have often been discarded as second-rate or even third-rate sources. There are many controversies in approaches to their research² and one may ask whether we should use the narrative sources at all when searching for answers on the history of medieval cities, discerning truth from fiction, or rather focus on the context in which the narrative sources in question were formed, and the mechanisms of their creation. Nevertheless, a medieval or early modern narrative source may be important (often the only) written source for investigating certain segments of medieval urbanity. Articles in this volume show that the narrative sources shed light on – if not reality – some crucial elements in the cities' identity, their link with tradition and their own histories. They also function as oral tradition noted down in writing, and as such mirror the urban communities' collective memory.

In international scholarship, narrative sources have recently been attracting more attention, although less as sources for researching the image of medieval cities.³

¹ This study was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, project nr. 7235 "Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elites and Urban Spaces" (URBES).

² For example, in the international scholarly conferences "In the beginning, there was *De administrando imperio*: Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Perceptions of Earliest Croatian History," Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (February 18, 2010), "*The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* Facing the Challenges of Modern Historiography" in Zagreb (March 3, 2011); or "Hagiographic Legacy of Split: History, Legend, Text. International Scholarly Conference, Split, September 26-27, 2011."

³ Sophia Menache, "Chronicles and Historiography, the Interrelationship of Fact and Fiction," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (2006): 1-13; Girolamo Arnaldi, "Cronache con documenti, cronache 'autentiche' e pubblica storiografia," *Fonti medievali e problematica storiografica* 1 (1976): 351-374; Bernard Guenée,

indicating any major presence of Slavs in this part of Dalmatia. Contrary to that, there is enough evidence on the native Roman population to establish their presence.¹⁴ The question how it came to the incredible coincidence in legal terminology could be answered only by – Thomas the Archdeacon. My aim here is only to refute the theory of a formal Imperial command sent to the Slavs in the Salonitan region, although I do accept the Imperial rescript in response to the plea of the inhabitants of Spalatum that they should be allowed to live in the Palace. It may have been addressed – and I believe it indeed was – to the migrant Salonitans, who asked the central authorities in Constantinople to legalize their habitation on Imperial land. It was, in fact, a sort of “foundation” of the new city.

These two notes, in which I have commented on several sentences by Emperor Porphyrogenitus and Thomas the Archdeacon, do not help us in making any crucial conclusions on the conquest of Salona and the emergence of Split, two topics that are especially intriguing for historians. Porphyrogenitus' chronology only helps us to order the events before the “fall of Salona” better, as it tells of the “final days” at the time of Pope Gregory and Bishop Maximus. Contrary to that, Thomas' account of the time in which the Salonitan vegetables and other crops were growing around the Imperial Palace tells us absolutely nothing. Especially when we know about the natives who maintained and rebuilt Salonitan churches. My notes illuminate two details from important narrative sources and call for a careful reading even of the seemingly unimportant details of the previously “read” texts.

¹⁴ Besides Gjurašin's report (as in n. 12) on the imperial coins in the wall of the “Hollow Church”, which proves the continuity of native habitation, they are also presumed by Ivanka Nikolajević, “Salona christiana' u VI i VII veku” [“Salona christiana” in the 6th and 7th centuries], *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 72–73 (1979), 151. Her discussion is a revised and extended version of an article in French previously published in *Disputationes Salonitanae* 1970, ed. Ž. Rapanić (Split: Arheološki muzej, 1975), 91. Cf. also Marović, “Reflexions”.

The Use of Narrative Sources in Establishing the Genealogies of Dalmatian Urban Elites before the 14th Century *

Zrinka Nikolić Jakus

Sources such as the Tuscan *ricordanze* and other family books that contain data on individual families in the form of brief diary notes similar to those in chronicles¹ unfortunately seem to be missing in our region. Although the State Archive in Dubrovnik preserves a series of *Privata* (ser. XIX) with several dozens of private books from the 15th and 16th centuries, these are mostly account books, which were actually the predecessors of family books. In the Dubrovnik series, the number of books primarily concerning families and households is rather small and they were probably written at the very end of the medieval period.² Owing to these circumstances, researchers focusing on the genealogies of individuals or families in the Croatian Middle Ages largely start from the sources linked to some legal affair. In that sense, private legal documents may be considered as the best, or at least the most reliable sources.³ Thus, the most commonly used sources when it comes to genealogies and members of Dalmatian urban elites are the notarial documents – last wills, marriage and dowry contracts, property divisions among family members, sale and donation contracts, lease contracts, and so on. Narrative sources may be expected to offer some information on other aspects of life as well, those that do not directly concern the

* This paper was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation, project nr. 7235 “Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elites and Urban Spaces” (URBES).

¹ Family books have been defined as a genre in the 1980s, in Italy, and are today considered as present in various forms elsewhere in Europe. The earliest are known from 13th-century Florence, where hundreds of such books have been preserved from the 14th and 15th centuries, more than in any other Italian region. On family books, see: Giovanni Ciappelli, *Memory, Family, and Self: Tuscan Family Books and Other European Egodocuments (14th-18th Century)*, trans. Susan Amanda George (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014); idem, “Le edizioni di fonti per la storia della famiglia nell' età medievale e moderna,” in: *Per la storia delle città toscane. Bilancio e prospettive delle edizioni di fonti dall' metà degli anni Sessanta a oggi*, ed. Anna Maria Pult and Aurora Savelli (Florence: Consiglio regionale della Toscana, 2013), 73-90. For an example of evaluation of such sources, see idem, *Una Famiglia e Le Sue Ricordanze. I Castellani Di Firenze Nel Tre-Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 1995).

² Among the rare examples, one should mention a book of Andrija de Pozzo, a nobleman of Dubrovnik, analysed by Zdenka Janeković Römer, “Obiteljska knjiga Andrije Antojeva de Pozza (1569-1602)” [Family book of Andrija Antojev de Pozzo (1569-1602)], in: *Med srednjo Evropo in Sredozemljem. Vojetov zbornik*, ed. Saša Jerše, Peter Štih, and Darja Mihelič (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC; ZRC SAZU, 2006), 485-497.

³ Diane O. Hughes, “Toward Historical Ethnography: Notarial Documents and Family History in the Middle Ages,” *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7 (1974): 61-71.

situations in which these documents were produced and which mostly involve some sort of property dealings.

Based on the work of our most important medieval chronicler, Thomas the Archdeacon (d. 1268) – *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum* – which covers not only the longest period, but also one with a scarcity of private legal documents, my aim here has been to see whether narrative sources may provide some useful information on the family ties of prominent personalities, ties that are otherwise not known from diplomatic sources, as well as indicate the limitations of this type of sources for the given purpose. My examples will concern the archbishops of Split and Zadar, and the candidates for that office in the 12th century, a period in which Dalmatian prelates were still, albeit not always, elected largely from the distinguished local families. Regarding the fact that Thomas' work belongs to the literary genre of *gesta episcoporum* (*gesta abbatum*), in which “the history of institutions, particularly ecclesiastical – bishoprics, archbishoprics, or monasteries – is viewed through the actions of their leading dignitaries,”⁴ they may be expected to offer some valuable information on these individuals.

Thomas is thus very informative on the person and family of Archbishop Gaudius of Split (1136-1170). He was the last Split-born man occupying the archiepiscopal office before the appointment of Dominik Lukarić in 1328: “At that time a cleric called Gaudius, native of Split, was parish priest of the church of Saint Anastasia [above the southern gate of Diocletian's Palace, author's remark]. Gaudius was a man of imposing stature and was deemed more educated than the others. Moreover, he was a powerful man, being the son of Cotinus and the grandson of Carochula [*filius Cotini, nepos Carochule*, may also have been a nephew of Karokula, author's remark], and was blessed with numerous relatives by blood and by marriage. So he was made archbishop of the church. He then bestowed the parish of Saint Anastasia on Madius the primicerius, his nephew and a brother of John Mesagalina, because the patronage belonged by right to him.”⁵ The family history of this archbishop of Split – perhaps

⁴ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo. Rano doba hrvatske povijesti* [Thomas the Archdeacon and his work: The early period of Croatian history] (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 2002), 43-45. On this literary genre and on medieval sources in the Croatian lands, see eadem, “Neki aspekti diplomatske tradicije u zapisima splitske crkvene provenijencije” [Some aspects of diplomatic tradition in the documents of ecclesiastical provenance from Split], in: *Studia diplomatica. Rasprave i prinosi iz hrvatske diplomatike* (Zagreb: FF Press, 2014), 113-122; eadem, “Samostanski memorijalni zapisi (*libri traditionum*) srednjega vijeka i uloga svećenika-pisara (pranotara)” [Medieval monastic memorial books (*libri traditionum*) and the role of the priest-notary (proto-notary)], in: *Studia diplomatica* (as above), 123-135. On the genre and its variations over time and in various areas, see also: Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).

⁵ *Erat autem eo tempore Gaudius clericus, natione Spalatensis, plebanus ecclesie sancte Anastasie, eleganti statura et inter ceteros litteratior habebatur. Erat autem filius Cotini, nepos Carochule, potens homo, multorum enim erat cognatorum et affinium populositate predictus. Hic ergo Spalatine ecclesie archiepiscopus est effectus. Plebanatum ero ecclesie sancta Anastasie contulit nepoti suo Madio primicerio, fratri Iohannis Mesagalina, quia patronatus iure spectabat ad eum.* Thomae Archidiaconi

even on both sides, paternal as well as maternal – can be followed from the second half of the 11th century. A man called Kotina or Ivan (John) Kotina (Cotinus), or perhaps Ivan Kotinov (*coram Iohanne Cotini; coram Cotino*) is thus mentioned as a witness in the Cartulary of St Peter “in the village” between 1080 and 1090 (dates established by Viktor Novak). In one of the cases, he is accompanied by Jakov Morstik and vice-*župan* Grgur.⁶ This Karokula (it is not quite clear how his name should be pronounced: it may also be Karochula or Karokala)⁷ is not mentioned neither by Thomas or in any other sources as holding a particular position or profession, but only as a person referred to by his descendants and other younger relatives. However, judging from Thomas' words, he seems to have been an important person. This is supported by the fact that his name was used to identify several other prominent citizens of Split, both male and female. His son, whose name is not known, is mentioned as a *bucarius* (count's vicar) in 1192, and that was the highest office that a local man could hold at the time. Karokula's *nepos* (probably his grandson) Dobre is mentioned at the same position in 1208 and 1209. A woman called *Stria nepta Carochuli*, i.e. his granddaughter or niece, was the abbess of St Doimo's monastery in Trogir (later known as St Nicholas) in 1194.⁸ Ivan Lučić also mentions a note from 1201 or 1202 in which a man called *Marinus Carochule* made a donation to the monastery of St Mary on the island of Molat near Zadar.⁹ Since it is a rather unique name or nickname, I would say that there was indeed a link between all these persons, even though they belonged to different generations and contexts.

An even more famous example were the Mezagaline, a family with one of the earliest Dalmatian surnames, coined from the picturesque nickname “Half-a-Chicken”, first mentioned in the 11th or the early 12th century. A man called Ivan (John) Mesagalina occurs as a witness with his brothers in the foundation charter of St Benedict's monastery (later known as St Rainer/Arnir), among whose donators

Spalatensis / Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / History of the bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text by Olga Perić, ed., trans. and annotated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2006), ch. 19, 102-105. More on Archbishop Gaudius in: Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo*, 164-167.

⁶ (...) *coram Iohanne Cotini (...) Cotino: Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae / Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije* (hereafter: CD) vol. 1, ed. Jakov Stipišić and Miljen Šamšalović (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (JAZU), 1967) (hereafter: CD 1), doc. 136, pp. 174 and 176.

⁷ The Vatican codex containing the work of Thomas the Archdeacon also gives the variant *Charochule*.

⁸ *In bucaratu filii Carochuli*, 1192, CD, vol. 2, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904) (hereafter: CD 2), doc. 241, p. 257; *Stria nepta Carochuli*, 1194, Chapter Archive in Split, Legacy of Ivan Lučić Lucius (hereafter: Lucius), vol. 539, fol. 27-31 / Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), transcript of the legacy of Ivan Lučić Lucius (hereafter: HAZU), vol. 11, pp. 17-23; *Dobre nepote Carochule vicario*, 1208, CD, vol. 3, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1905) (hereafter: CD 3), doc. 70, p. 80; *Dobre nepos Carochule*, 1209, CD 3, doc. 78, p. 96.

⁹ Lucius, vol. 462, fol. 84' / HAZU, vol. 17, 2, p. 82.

there appears a woman called Nemira Mesagalina.¹⁰ It is not quite clear what was her connection to Ivan Mesagalina, who is mentioned as a nephew, more precisely brother of a nephew of Archbishop Gaudius. In any case, his descendants are first mentioned in documents from the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The cartulary of St Stephen “under the pine trees” reveals that Ivan Mesagalina had a wife called Beta and a son called Rado.¹¹ As it seems that the nickname Mesagalina was inherited – a typical process of emerging family names – it is never quite clear what Mesagalina the documents are referring to. Thus, Rado is also mentioned as a *nepos* of Mesagalina, same as a man called Toma in 1214.¹² As in the case of Karokula’s *nepos* Dobre, Rado also occupied the office of *bucarius* at the end of the century.¹³ Thus, by bringing information on Archbishop Gaudius, Thomas the Archdeacon allows us to establish a connection between Kotina and Karokula and reconstruct the family line from the late 11th until the early 13th century, as well as to link them to the Mesagalina, another distinguished family. Even though these genealogical ties are not perfectly clear, among other things because the term *nepos* may refer to the grandson and nephew alike, Thomas’ description of Gaudius’ family nevertheless allows us to gain a better insight into the genealogical network of Split’s elite families at the time.

Nevertheless, Thomas’ information on the archbishop is not completely accurate. Historians have noticed that the forty-year period of Gaudius’ archiepiscopacy does not correspond to the data known from the diplomatic sources.¹⁴ Moreover, a document from 1150 reveals that there were two archbishops with that name: therein Archbishop Gaudius demanded from the clergy of Split to support his visit to the Holy See. Since they refused and appealed to some witnesses – *duo filii Carusi monachi sancti Stephani, Zuzalo (Çuçalo) et Cirnecha* – the archbishop sent a delegation before which they testified that it was not the clergy’s duty to contribute to the archbishop’s consecration or his visit to the Holy See, since they had heard so from their father, the count, and he had heard so from their grandfather, Archbishop Gaudius, and he also saw with his own eyes how the archbishop had sold two of his own furnaces in order to pay for his journey to the Holy See in order to receive his consecration.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Iohannis Mesagaline*, 1068, CD 1, doc. 80, p. 112; *coram Iohanne Mesagalina... coram Mesagalina*, before 1080, CD 1, doc. 136, pp. 173-174; *Nemira Mesagaline*, CD 1, doc. 81, p. 112; *Dra... Mesagaline filius*, 1111, CD 2, doc. 20, p. 23.

¹¹ 1178, CD 2, doc. 151, p. 154,

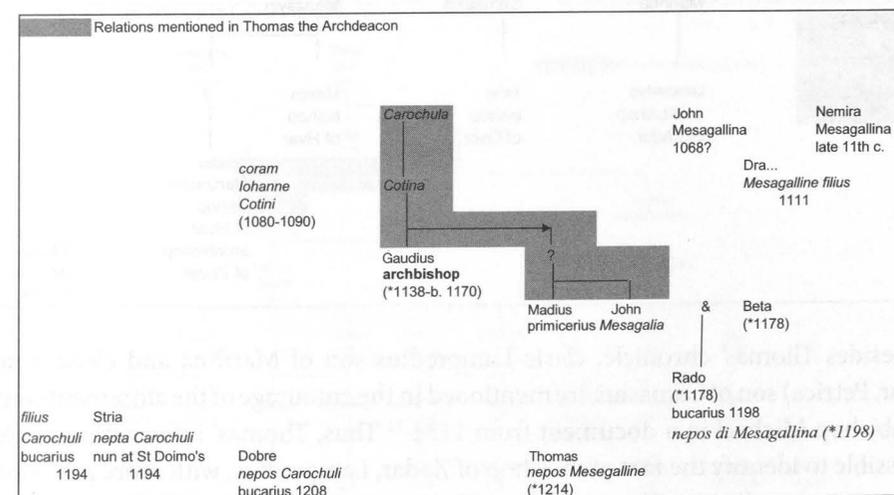
¹² *Raddo nepote di Mesagallina*, 1198, CD 2, doc. 288, p. 308; *Toma nepos Mesagaline*, 1214, CD 3, doc. 108, p. 127.

¹³ 1198, CD 2, doc. 276, pp. 292-293, doc. 288, p. 308. cf. Ivan Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu* [The metropolitan chapter in Split] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1975), 68-69.

¹⁴ Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo*, 166.

¹⁵ The version of the document preserved at the Chapter Archive in Split has been published in CD 2 (doc. 64, pp. 62-63), but is also part of the Split Evangelistary (135v-136r). Cf. *Splitski Evangelijarij* [Split Evangelistary], introduction, transcription, textual reconstruction, and critical apparatus by Mirjana Matijević Sokol, transcription assistant (fol. 164v-309v) Tomislav Galović (Split: Književni krug, Nadbiskupija Splitsko-makarska, 2016), 116-117. The way in which some names are written differs between these two versions. I would like to thank Prof. Matijević Sokol for the information.

Even though the coincidence of names may lead us to bring Archbishop Gaudius in a familial connection to his predecessor of the same name, apparently this statement refers to two monks from St Stephen “under the pine trees”. It is somewhat strange that Thomas overlooked this document, preserved both at the Chapter Archive and at the Evangelistary of Split, which clearly mentions two archbishops by the name of Gaudius and moreover discusses the rights of the clergy of Split with regard to the archbishops, since Thomas endorsed these rights very enthusiastically in his work. Apparently, it was due to confusion that he merged two archbishops of the same name and thus came to the information on Gaudi’s 40 years of holding the office of Split’s archbishop. (Fig. 1: Available data on the kinship ties of Archbishop Gaudius)



Since there were no other archbishops from the local families of Split before the 14th century, this is the only case in which Thomas the Archdeacon can serve as a source for reconstructing the genealogical ties of Split’s prelates. However, he also has some information on those from Zadar. The first person with the archbishop’s title in Zadar is a man called Mihael (Micha).¹⁶ Nothing is known of his family from the diplomatic sources, but in his chronicle Thomas the Archdeacon mentions him as a son of Caloprestancius.¹⁷ This version of the name, with the Byzantine prefix *calo*, indicates that this bishop of Zadar originated from a very old and distinguished family. In Split, a man called *Caloiannus* is mentioned at the same time among the elites, and another called *Calogeorgius* in Trogir.¹⁸ *Caloprestancius* would be the only

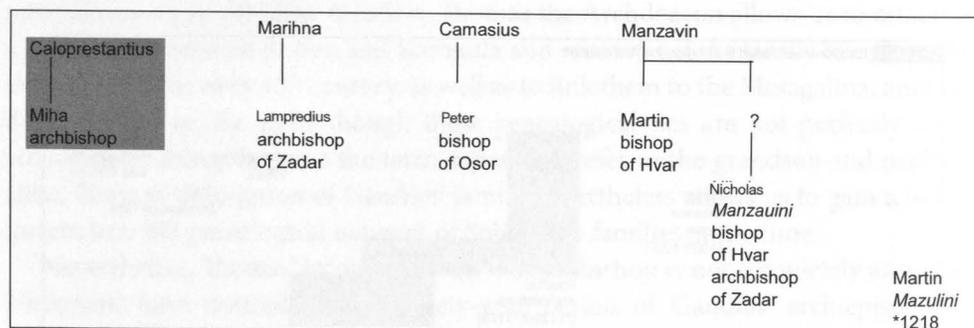
¹⁶ In 1129 and 1133 as a bishop (CD 2, doc. 39-40, pp. 39-41) and then as an archbishop in 1134 (CD 2, doc. 43, pp. 44-45).

¹⁷ *Eo itaque tempore Micha episcopus, Caloprestantii filius, preerat ecclesie Iaderensi*. Thomas, ch. 19, 100-101.

¹⁸ *Paulus et Nicolaus de Caloianni*, 1176, CD 2, doc. 141, p. 143; *a quodam Tragurino filio Furmini Calogeorgii*, 1185, CD 2, doc. 189, p. 193.

example from Zadar, and since the name Prestancius occurred far more often in Zadar than in other Dalmatian cities, including a bishop from the first half of the 11th century, from the Madi family,¹⁹ it was probably a Zadar-born person rather than a foreigner. Thomas' mention helps us identify Bishop Michael, on whom we have no genealogical information from other, meagre sources, as a member of a prominent family from Zadar.

Somewhat later, Thomas states that there were three clerics from Zadar competing for the episcopal or archiepiscopal office: Lampredius son of Marihna, Peter son of Camasius, and Martin son of Manzavinus.²⁰ (Fig. 2: Candidates for the Archbishopric of Zadar).



Besides Thomas' chronicle, cleric Lampredius son of Marihna and cleric Peter (Petar, Petrica) son of Camasius are mentioned in the entourage of the aforementioned Archbishop Michael in a document from 1134.²¹ Thus, Thomas' information makes it possible to identify the first archbishop of Zadar, Lampredius, with more precision. Moreover, according to Thomas, Count Petronja of Zadar supported Lampredius because he hoped for a more agreeable life with him holding the office, "because Lampredius was not a haughty man himself, nor was he of haughty stock."²² There are no information in other sources on Lampredius's character or that of his family; however, some documents do help us reconstruct his origin and allows us to presume that his family was more distinguished than those of the other two candidates. His name and that of his brother Vital/Vitača have led Vesna Jakić-Cestarić to link Archbishop Lampredius quite plausibly to the last priors of Zadar from the turn of the 12th century.²³ Kinship with the priors may have been along the female line, since

¹⁹ CD 1, doc. 79, p. 108.

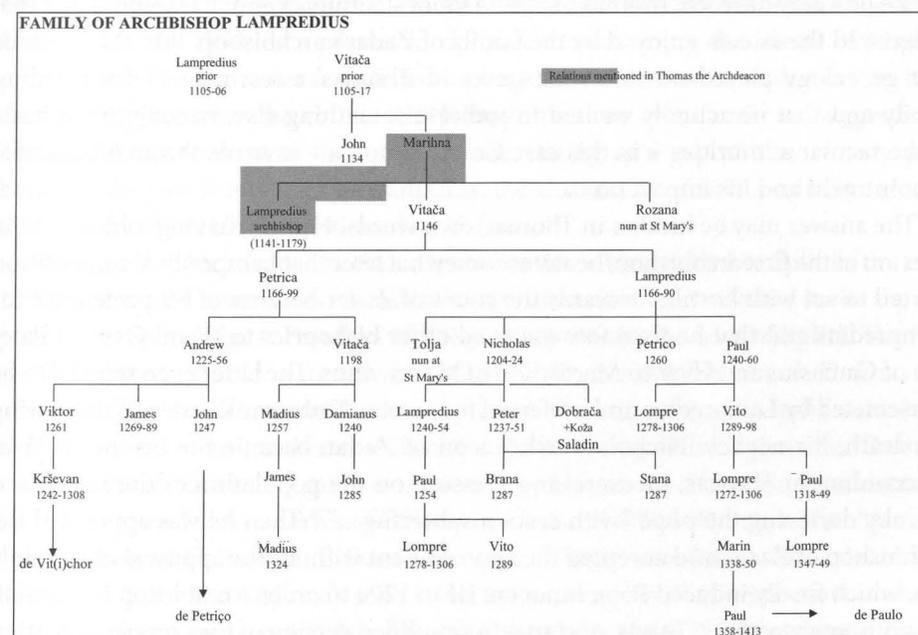
²⁰ *Interea vacante ecclesia Iaderensi tres eiusdem ecclesie clerici ad pontificatus honorem certatim aspirabant, videlicet Lampredius Marichne, Petrus Camasii et Martinus Manzavini.* Thomas, ch. 20, 108-109.

²¹ *Lampredius clericus filius Marichne, Petrizus clericus filius Camassi,* CD 2, doc. 43, p. 45.

²² (...) *quod nec ipse per se superbus nec erat de superbo sanguine procreatus.* Thomas, ch. 20, 108-109.

²³ Vesna Jakić-Cestarić, "Etnički odnosi u srednjovjekovnom Zadru prema analizi osobnih imena" [Ethnic relations in medieval Zadar based on an analysis of family names], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u*

Thomas mentions Lampredius as a son of Marihna, which is a female name. Besides, another document reveals that his family was related to several other important families in Zadar, such as the Cigal, the Fera, and the Oura or Otra, and his sister Rosana was the abbess of the monastery of St Mary,²⁴ an office held later on by his grand-grandniece Tolja,²⁵ which allows for a presumption that they were also related to the most powerful family of Zadar during the previous century, the Madi, from which both Čika (Cika), who founded the monastery, and her daughter and later abbess Vekenega (Većenjega) had originated. It was from the descendants of the archbishop's brother Vitača that the noble families of de Petrico, de Paulo, and de Vithicor stemmed. (Fig. 3: Family ties of Archbishop Lampredius).



Zadru 19 (1972): 156-157; *Vitaza frater pontificis*, CD 2, doc. 60, p. 61; + *Signum manus Vitaze nuper prioris, et fratrum eius*, 1095, CD 1, doc. 165, p. 206; *Vitača prior*, ca. 1095, CD 1, doc. 166, p. 207; *Lampredius prior, Vitaza prior*, 1105, CD 2, doc. 11, p. 15; *L. Jadere prior et Vitalis iam dictus prior*, 1106, CD 2, doc. 11, p. 16.

²⁴ More on these family ties in: CD 2, doc. 133, p. 137; *Damania filius Čigali, cum filiis Fere, Jacobo et Johanne, et filiis Vitače, Petričo et Lampredio Maldenario, Petrisa filio Oure, Lampredio filio Bogdani, et conquerebantur se aduersus Rosanam, abbatissam sancte Marie, sororem dicti archiepiscopi Lampredii*, 1174, *CD Supplementa*, vol. 1, ed. Josip Barbarić, Jasna Marković, et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Hrvatski državni arhiv, 1998) (hereafter: *Supplementa* 1), doc. 8, p. 47. Rosana is mentioned as the abbess of St Mary from 1170-1183: CD 2, doc. 123, p. 128, CD 2, doc. 183, pp. 187-188.

²⁵ Abbess of St Mary at least from 1190-1208: CD 2, doc. 228, pp. 242-243; CD 3, doc. 69, pp. 79-80. Tolja has been plausibly linked to the family by Vesna Jakić Cestarić in: "Ženska osobna imena i hrvatski udio u etno-simbiotskim procesima u Zadru do kraja XII. stoljeća" [Female personal names and the Croatian share in the ethno-symbiotic processes in Zadar before the end of the 12th century], *Radovi Centra za znanstveni rad JAZU u Zadru* 19 (1974): 331-332.

Thomas' description of Lampredius' family may lead us into believing that he was of a modest background, someone who would be grateful to the count for his support. Perhaps Thomas wanted to extol Lampredius' personal traits or indicate that his family did not intervene in archiepiscopal matters. Namely, the very document that allows for a reconstruction of the archbishop's family ties shows that during a property dispute between St Mary's monastery and a group of relatives including his (and the nun's) brother Vitača, Archbishop Lampredius judged in favour of the monastery.²⁶ This would indicate that both Lampredius and his sister Rosana advocated primarily the interests of institutions they presided over and were responsible for, rather than the interests of their family. Although it is possible that Lampredius' association with the female line may have led Thomas to infer a modest family origin, it is improbable that he ignored the esteem enjoyed by the family of Zadar's archbishop. It is also possible that genealogy played no role whatsoever in Thomas' assessment of Lampredius' family and that he actually wanted to indicate something else, namely the attitude of the secular authorities – in this case Count Petronja – towards the archiepiscopal appointment and his impact on it.

The answer may be hidden in Thomas' own words. Namely, having told about the election of the first archbishop, he states somewhat later that Lampredius' competition started to act with hostility towards the count of Zadar because of his preference for Lampredius and that he therefore assigned other bishoprics to them: Osor to Peter son of Camasius and Hvar to Martin son of Manzavinus. The latter even refused to be consecrated by Lampredius and preferred to travel to Dubrovnik instead.²⁷ Following his death, his nephew Nicholas, archdeacon of Zadar, became the bishop of Hvar – according to Thomas, by exercising pressure on the population of the island and then by deceiving the pope “with certain subterfuges.”²⁸ Then he was appointed the archbishop of Zadar and accepted the appointment without the approval of the Holy See, which finally induced Pope Innocent III in 1200 to order Archbishop Bernard to excommunicate him.²⁹ This is, of course, a simplified version of the complex situation around the question of whether the bishopric of Hvar belonged to the jurisdiction of

²⁶ CD 2, doc. 133, p. 137.

²⁷ *Predicti autem clerici, qui ad episcopatum anhelaverant, ceperunt inimicari comiti ob favorem Lampredii. Qui volens eos sibi pacatos efficere uni consensit episcopatum Apsarensem... Martinum vero fecit eligi ab insularis, expulso archipresbitero ecclesie Spalatensis, nam comes predictus cum Venetis earundem occupaverat dominium insularum. Et quamvis Martinus potestate Iaderensis comitis fuisset electus, noluit tamen Iadere consecrari, sed profectus Ragusium consecrationem suscepit ab Andrea archiepiscopo Ragusino...* Thomas, ch. 20, 110-111. The family of Martin Manzavin may have included Martin Mazulin who in 1218 donated some land to St Cosimas and Damian, CD 3, doc. 141, p. 167.

²⁸ (...) *quibusdam machinationibus circumveniens.* Thomas, ch. 22, 132-133.

²⁹ *His temporibus defuncto Martino insularum episcopo Nicolaus Manzavini, nepos eius, ambitionis ardore succensus, tantum sollicitaverat insularos, quod ab eis in episcopum est electus...* Thomas, ibidem. Cf. CD 2, doc. 303, pp. 322-323.

Split or Zadar, and the legitimacy of Nikola's transfer to the archbishopric of Zadar,³⁰ which included political connotations, since Nikola was pro-royal and even celebrated a Mass in Zadar on the occasion of the city's victory over the Venetians at Cape Trani in 1190, at the time when he was still the bishop of Hvar; moreover, later on he supported Duke Andrew against the papal protégé, King Emeric.³¹ Thus, Thomas summarized in several paragraphs the problems that had lasted for almost two decades. His emphasis on the non-haughty family of Archbishop Lampredius may have primarily serves as a counterpart to the ambitions of the haughty and manipulative Manzavini family, which obstructed Split's interests over the church of Hvar.

The remaining candidate for the position of the first archbishop of Zadar – Peter son of Camasius (*Petrus Camasii*) – is mentioned next to Lampredius in a document from 1134.³² In 1190, in a preserved document concerning the island of Maun, a person with the same name is listed among the noblemen of Zadar in the high, thirteenth place after the count, which may reveal an elite family as suggested by Thomas in his account of the appointment. Owing to a gap of almost sixty years between the two Peters sons of Camasius, the document of 1190 probably refers to the nephew of the cleric mentioned by Thomas.³³

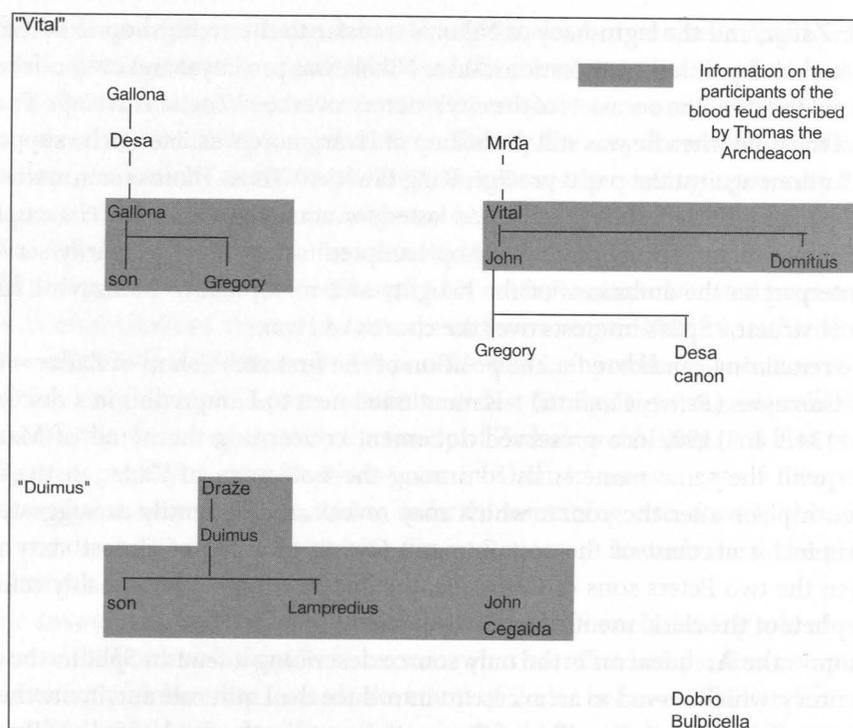
Thomas the Archdeacon is the only source describing a feud in Split in the early 13th century, which served as an excuse to introduce the Latin rule and invite the first potestas to Split. (**Fig. 4: Families of the participants in the feud of Split**). The feud started between an old man called Duimus (Thomas identifies him as Duimus son of Draža (*Duimus Drasce*) and his two sons on the one side, and Vitalis' sons (with Gallona's sons, mentioned later on) on the other. Along with Lampredius, Duimus' son, a man called John Cegaida is mentioned. Harassment of Duimus' maidservant by Vitalis' sons led to a series of bloody conflicts, in which Duimus, his elder son, Gregory son of Gallona, and Domitius son of Vitalis were killed. The relationship between Vitalis' and Gallona's sons is not quite clear, but they were most probably related, since at some point they are called brothers (*fratres*). These family groups are difficult to identify in the sources as they had not yet standardized their family names, but what can be revealed about them and their relatives shows that those were important persons holding political offices and participating in public affairs.

³⁰ CD 2, doc. 176, 229, 284, 303, 324, and 325, pp. 178-179, 243-245, 304-305, 322-323, and 351-352. On Thomas' account of the complex situation around the appointment of the first archbishop of Zadar and the establishment of the bishopric of Hvar and Brač, see Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo*, 167-170.

³¹ As may be inferred from a letter by Innocent III in which he mentions Nicholas and a man called A. as archbishop of Split: *consilium et auxilium impertiri et divina presumpserant etiam celebrare* despite the fact that the pope had excommunicated the duke (30/12/1198, CD 2, doc. 287, p. 307). Ludwig Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zur ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), 117 and 123.

³² Thomas, ch. 20, 108-109; *Petrizus clericus filius Camassi*, CD 2, doc. 43, p. 45.

³³ CD 2, doc. 229, pp. 243-245.



Vitalis could be the same person as Vitus son of Mrđa (as also argued by Mario-Nepo Kuzmanić, the author of a somewhat deficient genealogical study on the noble families of Split, who also attributed the place name of Vitaljina in Splitsko Polje to this person).³⁴ Vitalis' eldest son John, who survived the skirmish, would be appointed judge on several occasions between 1245 and 1266.³⁵ As for the Gallona family, a man called Desa son of Gallona is mentioned among the Split dignitaries in the mid-12th century,³⁶ while Gallona himself, whose sons Thomas mentions as the relatives and allies of Vitalis' sons, was appointed by Sancius Gumay as one of the arbiter judges in his conflicts with the archbishops of Split over the salt plants of Salona in 1203.³⁷ The entire kindred may be brought into connection with the Gumay, descendants of Peter the Black from the 11th century, since they are mentioned more than once related

³⁴ *Vido figliolo di Murga or Vita Murgia*: 1193, CD 2, doc. 248 and 249, pp. 263-64. Cf. Mario-Nepo Kuzmanić, *Splitski plemići, prezime i etnos* [Noblemen of Split: family names and ethnos] (Split: Književni krug, 1998), 98. Vitus had a brother called Mager, who appears in the sources from 1187 (CD 2, doc. 204, p. 217) until 1207 (CD 3, doc. 60, pp. 67-68). His son Stojo is mentioned in 1245 as deceased and obviously heirless (*Supplementa*, doc. 88, pp. 126-127, which probably explains the fact that neither he nor his descendants are mentioned as participants of the blood feud).

³⁵ 1245, 1248, 1254, 1255, 1266, CD, vol. 4, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1906), doc. 236, p. 271; doc. 331, pp. 373-374; doc. 348, pp. 394-395; doc. 498, p. 571; doc. 506, pp. 587-588; doc. 507, p. 588; 1265, 1266, CD 5, doc. 833, p. 343; doc. 875, p. 399.

³⁶ 1145-1153, CD 2, doc. 59, p. 60.

³⁷ CD 3, doc. 30, p. 34, transcript in a document from 1247.

to them and their foundation of St Peter of Gumay. Duimus' family may have been related to the "Bulpicella" kindred, since Vitalis' descendants were also in a blood feud with them later on, as evident from a document preserved in the Legacy of Ivan Lučić Lucius at the Chapter Archive in Split.³⁸ The old man Duimus son of Draža cannot be identified in any other known source or brought into connection with any of the distinguished citizens of Split by the name of Drago from the previous generation.³⁹ John Cigaida, a relative and supporter of Duimus' sons, appears later on, in the mid-13th century, as a prominent citizen and politician of Split,⁴⁰ at the same time as his former enemy, John son of Vitalis. Thomas also informs us that, as part of the truce, Vitalis' sons associated themselves to Duimus' kindred by marital ties,⁴¹ but unfortunately no details on this can be found in other sources.

Owing to Thomas, we are informed on the families of some other individuals who are not mentioned in diplomatic sources. Thus, Matthew, son of Zorobabel, is mentioned among the distinguished citizens of Zadar in 1193 and 1198. We know that he was wealthy, since he bought a house from Roger, son of Zadar's count Dominik Morosini, for 350 golden perpers.⁴² But it is only from Thomas that we know that he originated from Apulia, that he was a skilful painter and goldsmith, that he had a competent knowledge of Latin and Slavic language and letters, adhered to heresy, and had a brother of similar qualities called Aristodius.⁴³ Thomas also mentions John from Zadar, a nephew of Cucilla whom Archbishop Bernard of Split appointed bishop of Nin.⁴⁴ John son of Cucilla (*Johannes Cucille*) is documented in 1190 as a

³⁸ Lucius, vol. 539, fol. 217-217' / HAZU, vol. 12, pp. 28-32.

³⁹ Thus, in the mid-century a man called Drago Pirlle is mentioned among the *nobiles viri*, 1144, CD 2, doc. 54, pp. 54-56; 1145-53, CD 2, doc. 59, p. 60; in 1150, he was even a judge: CD 2, doc. 64, pp. 63-64. Late in the century (1193), there is Drago Quintaballo: CD 2, doc. 248, pp. 263-264. The most distinguished one seems to have been *župan* Drago, who is mentioned among the most prominent among the 150 citizens of Split who signed a truce with Klis in 1171, CD 2, doc. 125, p. 30. The group also includes Drago Gumay. *Župan* Drago is also mentioned in 1176, CD 2, doc. 141, p. 144, and in 1188, CD 2, doc. 208, p. 222.

⁴⁰ His nickname occurs in various forms: *Johannes Cegaida*, *Johannes Čigaida*, *Johannes Cichaide*, *Johannis Cicheyde*, *Johannes Cicayda*. He was a judge in 1250, 1252, and 1255: CD 4, doc. 372, pp. 428-429; doc. 444, p. 510; *Supplementa* 1, doc. 155, pp. 199-200; 1257: CD 5, doc. 579, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹ *Nam filii Vitalis cum parentella Duimi contractis inter se conubiis pacem perpetuam tenuerunt*. Thomas, ch. 33, 228-229. On the feud, cf. Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Privately Owned Towers in Dalmatian Towns during the High and Central Middle Ages," in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 277-278.

⁴² CD 2, doc. 246, p. 261; doc. 279, p. 297.

⁴³ *Fuerunt namque eo tempore dui fratres, filii Zorobabel, quorum alter Matheus, alter vero Aristodius vocabatur. Hi quamvis essent ex patre Appulo, erant tamen a pueritia Iaderenses cives effecti. Conversabantur vero ex maiori parte apud Bosnam, quia erant pictores optimi et in aurifabrilis arte satis exercitati. Competenter etiam Latine et Sclavonice litterature habebant peritiam...* Thomas, ch. 23, 138-139.

⁴⁴ *Ordinavit autem uno die Iohannem nepotem Cucille Nonensem episcopum...* Thomas, ch. 24, 152-153.

parish priest at St Michael's in Zadar; however, it is difficult to tell whether he is to be considered identical with the parish priest John mentioned in 1194, 1204, and later.⁴⁵ They may have been two persons from the same family, perhaps uncle and nephew.

Another example of the context in which information useful in reconstructing the genealogies of Dalmatian nobility occurs is a narrative source comes from a different region. With his famous *Strategicon* (written between 1075 and 1078), Byzantine author Kekaumenos made many a Croatian historian interested in his story about Dobronja, the archon and toparchon of Dalmatia, in which both Zadar and Split are mentioned. During the reigns of Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) and Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034 and 1041), Dobronja frequented the Byzantine court to receive honours and gifts, but eventually ended up in prison, where he died during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055).⁴⁶ Who was that Dobronja – was he from the Madi family, identical with or related to Gregory from Zadar's documents as commonly believed? Or was he, as Lujo Margetić has argued, a member of the Trpimirović dynasty, since Dalmatia (to which both Zadar and Split belonged) is to be considered as part of Croatia, whose ruler could have held the office of archon – ruler of a peripheral region semi-dependent on Byzantium?⁴⁷ I would argue that he was member of the Madi kin, brother of the pro-consul Gregory mentioned in Zadar's documents between 1033 and 1036.⁴⁸ However, the aim of Kekaumenos' work, when considering its broader context and the intended audience, which was to include members of the middle and upper classes, land owners and public officials,⁴⁹ was to bring a moralizing story about the wretched end of those who make too much fuss at the court. Therefore Kekaumenos was not too concerned with the accuracy of his geographic and genealogical data, which is perhaps assigned too much importance by modern historians. He was just telling an anecdote, and he may have as well completely taken out of the setting, only he chose to place it into a context

⁴⁵ CD 2, doc. 229, p. 244; CD 2, doc. 251, pp. 266-267; CD 3, doc. 38, p. 41.

⁴⁶ I have here used the Italian critical edition: *Cecaumeno. Raccomandazione e consigli di un galantuomo*, edited and annotated by Maria Dora Spadaro (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998), 236-239. For the segment on Dobronja, I have also consulted the notes of Jadran Ferluga in *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 3, ed. Jadran Ferluga, Božidar Ferjančić, Radoslav Katičić, Bariša Krekić, and Borislav Radojčić (Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka, Vizantološki institut, 1966), 203-205.

⁴⁷ Lujo Margetić, "Kekaumenos Dobronja – ein Kroatischer Herrscher des XI. Jahrhunderts," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta* 21 (1982): 39-46; idem, "O nekim vrelima hrvatske povijesti XI. stoljeća (s osobitim obzirom na Osor)" [On some sources for Croatian history in the 11th century (particularly regarding Osor), *Historijski zbornik* 42 (1989): 111-135, here 116-118; idem, "Iz starije hrvatske povijesti" [Notes on the older Croatian history], *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43 (2001): 5-6.

⁴⁸ For a detailed argument and an overview of all previous research, see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, *Rođaci i bližnji. Dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kin and kith: Dalmatian urban nobility in the early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998), 127-137.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Cecaumeno*, 15-29.

that his readers were familiar with. This account may also serve as a warning against taking over genealogical data from medieval narrative sources without considering the context in which the source in question was written and the role that some of its segments played in shaping the story.

To conclude, Thomas the Archdeacon offers a good amount of information on Dalmatian urban elite families, which can to some extent help us in making connections or in complementing their genealogies, in some cases even identify persons who were prominent in communal life, yet cannot be found in other sources (as in our last example). However, Thomas always uses this information in the context of a specific story (to prove the integrity or nepotism of an archbishop, to tell of a blood feud between the noble clans of Split) and therefore included only so much as he deemed necessary for the story. Regarding the fact that including these stories in his narrative has a particular purpose, such as describing the situation in the city that led to the arrival of a potestas, one should be very careful when trusting this information without comparing it to other, especially diplomatic sources. Perhaps Thomas did not know about a particular source or chose to disregard it for some reason. However, by using diplomatic and narrative materials side by side, we may gain fresh insights into genealogies, while keeping in mind the intentions and limitations of both types of sources.